THE

Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision of India.

INDIA'S PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A. B.L.,

And further south Sri Kurmam's glory shines
  And brings in vivid glow to memory
  The mighty churning of the milky sea
To bring, as well decreed by His designs,
Ambrosia sweet upon which godhead dines,
  The shining moon's sweet argent witchery,
  The moon-faced heavenly maiden's dancing glee,
And perfect gems which sea to heaven resigns.
And further south doth shine the sacred hill,
  Bhadrachalam, beloved of Rama great
  As Chitrakuta was in days of yore.
There through His gracious and unfettered will
  He showed again how Mercy conquers Fate
  And unto love doth open heaven's door.

Great Thoughts.

Man can realise God easily if he would understand his own real self. When we begin to examine the 'I' consciousness, we come to realise that there is no such thing as 'I.' It melts away like a shadow before the light of scrutiny. There are the hands, the feet, flesh, blood etc.,—of these what can you designate as 'I'? The more you peel off the skin of onion, the more skin only appears,—you cannot get any kernel ; so when we analyse the 'I,' it vanishes away into nothingness ; and what is left behind is the Atman, the pure *chit*. God appears when the ego dies.

A man began to sink a well, but having dug down to the depth of twenty cubits he could not find even the least trace of that water-spring which was to feed his well. So he desisted from the work and selected another place for the purpose. There he dug deeper than before, but even then he could not find any water. So again he selected another spot and dug still deeper than before, but it was of no avail. At last in utter disgust he gave up the task altogether. The sum-total of the depths of these three wells was only a little short of hundred cubits. Had he had the patience to devote even a half of the whole of this labour to his first well without shifting the site of the well from place to place, he would surely have been successful in getting water. Such also is the case with men who continually shift their positions in regard to faith. In order to meet with success we have to devote ourselves entirely to a single object of faith without being in the least doubtful as to its efficacy.

As the morning sun, the Atman dwells in heaven ; as the pervading air, in the interspace ; as fire, on the altar ; as resplendent Soma, in the vessel. As light of intelligence, He dwells in man ; as the light of life, in all living beings. He is all, true and great.

God is in all men but all men are not in God, and that is why they suffer.

Events of the Week.

We are glad that the Anglo-Indian and domiciled community is realising that the Reforms Act has changed their position in India. Colonel Gidney, speaking on the 16th Inst. at the Bombay Branch of the Association offered them sound advice, urging them to associate themselves with all moderate Indians in working for the attainment of full responsible self-government for India and not to oppose the progress of India's freedom. 'They could not any more look upon Englishmen as their prop, and they had to get on amicably with other large communities.' It is strange that advice like this should still be found necessary. The time long ago arrived when even 'Englishmen' themselves during their sojourn here as merchants, missionaries, &c., or while holding any non-official situation in any line and walk of life should adopt the same course. For that is the only wise thing to do in order to maintain the strength and solidarity of the British Empire. But why does Col. Gidney advise his domiciled kinsmen only 'to get on amicably with other *large* communities ?' These large communities do not require their help or co-operation in an age when '*numbers*' alone are accepted as the source of prestige and power. We should advise them rather to throw their lot with every other *small* community in the land, so as to prevent the larger communities from pursuing a course of self-aggrandisement at the expense and to the detriment of *all* small communities including their own. Especially in all schemes for fiscal, financial, and industrial progress, if the smaller communities coalesce and act together, they succeed in checking the spirit of aggression and insolence which the 'big battalions' of communities now aspiring to seize a monopoly of 'power' in the land are beginning to contract and even to parade in a spirit of mere egotism or pride characteristic of all *parvenus*. Let us hope that even the leaders of 'the parties in power' now or in future will learn that, if they want to secure real 'power'—and not the semblance of it—for the land of their birth, they must grant equality of opportunity for all to serve the cause of freedom and even to *lead* the party of progress, if they have the capacity and the will, whether in the offices of the State or in the working of political organisations formed to carry on the struggle against the upholders of the existing system of 'slave-driving' and monopoly.

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We are glad that His Holiness the Jagad-Guru of the Kamakoti Peetham at Kumbakonam has sent a vigorous and well-worded protest to be placed before the Select Committee on 'The Madras Religious Endowments Bill.' We have from the beginning held that it is nothing but a piece of *political blindness or insanity* in our 'new rulers' to include the Mutts under the heading of Trust Properties so as to bring them under the operation of the principles of the Bill. The Acharyas who preside over our Mutts are not holders of 'trusts' of any kind, but the inheritors and propagators of spiritual culture who are entitled to receive and to command almost divine honours from their disciples. Any property which they have at their disposal is their own, and they alone are entitled to settle how they are to be spent. They are not to look to any outside authority for advice or influence in regard to the expenditure of their resources. Their disciples—or even the community at large and the Government which wields power in the land—have no control over these resources. If the British Government has in the past made any grants of money or land to them, it is because it has taken the place of the Indian kings and chiefs who were their disciples once and whose co-religionists still remain their disciples and are entitled to receive the same support from the State as formerly for the maintenance and continuance of the benefits which their Acharyas were and are conferring on them in matters of spiritual enlightenment and religious devotion. The Acharyas never asked for these grants from the former kings and chiefs. The latter placed them at their disposal of their own will and out of the abundance of their devotion to their Gurus. His Holiness the present Jagad-Guru of Kumbakonam Mutt rightly says: '*Nobody, not even its disciples*, can claim to enter *or* worship in a Mutt, or claim religious instruction, *as of right*. In fact this conception of right is entirely alien to the true nature of the relation between a Guru and his Sishya. The disciple seeks to receive spiritual grace from the Guru whenever the latter is pleased to vouchsafe it to him. 'The Guru is a law unto himself.' Let us hope that our miraculous and Heaven-sent Ministers belonging to the 'party in power' will now realise the absurdity of their view that 'Mutts are *endowed* with large properties and complaints of mismanagement have in their case been very pronounced.' His Holiness has rightly protested against this sweeping statement and rightly claimed that 'the Kumbakonam Mutt has had a clean record, unbroken for centuries and that 'no responsible person or body of persons among the vast circle of the Mutt's disciples have made any complaints to any body.' Let us hope that still wise counsels will prevail, and that the people's voice will receive due consideration in this matter of life-and-death to a people who have ever been known to be supremely devoted to the concerns and concepts of religion as the one purpose and aim of life on earth.

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Lord Peel has decided not to adopt the recommendation of the Indian Legislative Assembly to revise the Indian Constitution '*at an earlier date than* 1929.' He says:—'Sufficient time has not elapsed to enable the new machinery to be adequately tested.' His chief reason against any change at present is stated as follows: —'However great the merits shown by the Legislature and by individual members, and I am far from wishing to under-rate them, the fact remains that the merits and possibilities of the electorate have not yet beeen tested by time and experience.' We believe that this is merely a clever device for postponing reform. Who ever 'tested' an electorate in the history of England, and what standards exist for applying such a test ? The electorate can choose or throw overboard the Parliament and the Ministry, and is the supreme body in the British State. Only recently, have women become added to the British electorate. Did anybody ever 'test' their qualifications? Numbers of women everywhere carried on a prolonged agitation for the franchise. And at the time of the Great War, they diligently and loyally supported the Government of Great Britain in carrying on the struggle against the German Empire and its aggressive outburst against Western Europe. These were considered as sufficient 'tests' to qualify them for the franchise and exercise political influence in the State. The people of India can only be judged by these same 'tests,' and they have stood these 'tests' well. Especially, there has been a daily growing discontent and agitation, and it has taken dangerous forms recently and spread in a manner which may develop or foreshadow a perilous situation. The Indian Legislative Assembly rightly foresaw the future and made its recommendation in a spirit of loyalty and moderation to the Governments of India and Great Britain. Lord Peel's resolve to reject the recommendation of the Assembly will create consternation among all moderate men. There has been created an impression already that reactionary influences are abroad in England and and Lord Peel's decision against revising the Indian Constitution will confirm it. The Government of His Excellency Lord Reading has a great responsibility at this juncture, and we trust that it will take such measures as will command the good-will and confidence of all moderate men of all parties, who believe in the wisdom of co-operating with the Government for the achievement of India's freedom.

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The sensational rumors about Mahatmaji's health having proved baseless, the event of the week is certainly the libel suit by Rao Bahadur O. Kandaswami chetti against the First Minister for a speech the latter made at Tenneri, last October. Mr. Kandasami chetti has long been before the public and he gave himself at Chidambaram the pleasure of indulging in flaming words against the aristocratic junta that have diverted a democratic movement into the gutter. This immediately drew all the fire against him. It is not, many think, a libel suit between two private individuals, but the whole nature, policy and trend of what is today the *Justice* party will be in issue. Rumours are persistent that high interests will bring about a rapproachment between the parties and the contest will not be pushed far.

The Hindu Message

Dharma and Life—XXVIII.

Property and Labour Ideals.

Our discussion so far has shown that the abolition of private ownership of land and capital is more or less of a dream,—that the State must and will exist in one form or another, and that, even if the State took possession of the land of the community, it must break most of it up into holdings and pass them to private possessors, individual or associated, for purposes of cultivation on terms which will convert possession into practical ownership—that, even if guilds of workmen are formed to own and manage capital under conditions imposed by State charters, it will be still necessary to grant freedom to capitalists who wish to carry on industry on their own terms so long as they conform to regulations imposed by the State to determine their relations to the guilds, and that the members of the guilds, too, must have their own standards of living and controlling their expenditure in a way not very different from those which owners of property at present possess,—and that the Utopian dreams of Socialism and Anarchism are bound to fail as being antagonistic to the instincts of human nature which favour the universal prevalence of private property and the existence of State authority and institutions to protect it from violation and strengthen its transfer from hand to hand. We have also explained how Indian Dharma recognises all the needs and instincts of human nature, and frames the regulations and institutions needed to help individuals and society to fulfil those needs and satisfy those instincts and thus enable one to gain the ultimate purpose of human existence as laid down by the Veda and established, too, on an irrefragable basis of ratiocination and the invulnerable rock of enlightened spiritual experience and realisation.

But the Utopian mind of man is not content with simply attacking such fundamental institutions as the State, private property, or even the new aspiration for a communal organisation of society by occupational groups or guilds, &c. The Utopian reformer descends into details regarding the industrial life of workmen and proposes measures of social relief or betterment which will help the State and Society to reach the highest possible standard of industrial welfare and social improvement. These proposals of reforms may be enumerated as follows :—(1) All workmen willing to take up an occupation must be assured of a minimum wage ; (2) No one must be compelled to work, and even those who choose to be idle must be assured of a bare livelihood through the payment of what is known as "the vagabond's wage,"—while, at the same time, measures must be taken to bring into existence a strong public opinion adverse to idleness which every one will have to conform to by reason of its irresistible power ; (3) The working day should not exceed four hours ; (4) Every one must be taught not *one* industry or trade, but several, so that one can vary his occupation according to the conditions of the demand or of the season ; (5) The diminishing of the unpleasantness of certain kinds of work by offering the attractions of higher pay or shorter working day or both ; (6) The production of luxuries in limited quantity and of necessaries in quantities sufficient to meet the needs of all ; (7) The payment of wages to all women who are engaged in doing their domestic work at home and do not hire themselves for work out of doors; (8) the free education, general and technical, of all childern and young people,—at least to the termination of the secondary course of instruction; (9) The levy of a "single tax" so as to secure for the State all kinds of unearned increments in industry and agriculture ; (10) A Capital Levy chargeable on all property (excepting the smallest savings up to a fixed limit) and at rates "very steeply graduated so as to take only a small contribution from the little people and a very much larger percentage from the millionaires." All this seems to us to be practically impossible—and merely a Utopian dream. Whence is the State to find the means for carrying out such a tremendous programme—based on purely idealistic aspirations after a perfection of human character such as has never existed, because human egoism is a fact that must be reckoned with as a constant and normal phenomenon of human nature ? We do not say that all the proposed measures of reform are equally impracticable and Utopian. We think some are of a character which, in some modified form, may be worth adopting as a principle of reform. For instance,

the reduction of the length of the working day is a measure, both needed and salutary, though at present a four hour's day may be a change too radical and impracticable for adoption. Another measure much needed in the present time when several millions of wage-earning men employed in munition works and other war-industries and occupations have been or are being discharged is to find work for these men suffering from unemployment. It may be necessary, both for the fulfilment of this duty as well as for the repayment of some portion at least of the enormous extra national debts incurred for meeting war expenses of all kinds, to make what is called a *capital levy* on all property above a fixed amount,—the amount levied, whatever may be the percentage fixed, being paid not in one and the same year, but spread over a number of years. This levy may also be utilised for the provision later on of an insurance in seasons when the working classes have to face the peril of unemployment. Mr. Wells, in one of his election addresses, stated that it was "practically the issue of the (recent) election." We doubt if it was made the one issue of the General Election. Mr. Wells said :—"It has been made the issue at this election by the action of the larger part of the press of this country." But none of the great *political parties* in the State,—not even the Labour party in its manifesto to the Electors—put it forward as the one issue before the voters. Mr. Wells rightly claimed that it was "a proposal drawn up by economists and well-informed people"—that it was "a proposal to make a levy on the property accumulated during the war in order to reduce the intolerable burden of debt that weighs on the country at the present time." If some such step was not taken to reduce the national debt incurred for carrying on the war, nearly one-half of the national annual income would have to be spent upon the War Debts,—for "the continual paying off of that which will never be paid." We thus see that not all the proposals of the Labour party for reform can be condemned as unpractical and as savouring of mere speculation. Still, most of those proposals proceed from the rebellious spirit which disregards all the sobrieties of solvent business life and is also hostile to the fundamental institution of property as a basis of civilised Life. We have only to mention the proposal to assure a livelihood—"the vagabond's wage"—even to those who are idle and the proposal to pay wages to women who are engaged in carrying on their domestic work in the home.

The fact, however, that these and other similar proposals are being made and discussed makes it clear that the foundations on which Western industry is built up are false and slippery, and that there must be a revision early of industrial ideals and institutions. Professor Bertrand Russell puts the matter well as follows :—"The civilised world has need of fundamental change if it is to be saved from decay,—change both in its economic structure and in its philosophy of life." There can be no doubt of the essential truth of this view, so long as cost of production remains so high as at present, unemployment is increasing, and foreign exploitation continues to be necessary for the maintenance of industrial prosperity and such a thing as an industrially self-contained community continues but the baseless fabric of a vision. The idea that the change wanted and in prospect is to be in the direction of "Communism" is utterly unfounded. In a previous article, we have referred to the present condition of Russia as showing that it is far from an encouragement to the advocates of Communism. Socialism, as it held at the present day, is far indeed from supporting its old antagonism to private property and to the existence of the State as an indispensable aid to a stable condition of society. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in a small essay on "The Socialist Movement," says :—"The common idea is that Socialism proposes to abolish private property. That is no less mistaken than is the view that Socialism and Anarchism are one and the same thing." Socialism even today believes in the need for the continuance of a legislative and coercive state, while Anarchism presupposes the abolition of the state or at least believes in a state in which all obligations between man and man and between man and society are to be based on a purely ethical and voluntary basis of friendship and affection. Further, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald assures us that "the Socialist assumes that individuality requires private property through which to express itself. Man must control and own something, otherwise he does not control and own himself." He further says :—"Objection to inheritance is not an essential part of the Socialist system."

Further, the idea that Russian Bolshevism has established itself on a firm "*communist*" basis is at least premature. It may not be true that it is what some describe it to be,—"unspeakable savagery." It may not even be true that there is—to use the words of Dr. E. J. Dillon writing in the *Fortnightly Review*—an "inherent incapacity in Russian Bolshevism sincerely to recognise the canons of

Western nations and to evolve a system of governance which could by any stretch of the imagination be described as democratic and progressive." But there is no doubt that it is not representative of the Russian nation ; and there is no doubt also that neither the political methods nor the economic results of Bolshevism can yet be regarded as re-assuring. We have already dwelt briefly on this last point in a previous contribution of this series. That Bolshevism is not in any sense representative of Russian national life and opinion is fairly evident. We are assured by a member of the Russian Communist party—Mr. G. Zunoviev—that, according to available figures, "the total membership of the party amounts to 486,000," and that "the party, in an immense country such as ours, which forms one-sixth of the whole globe, cannot be homogeneous." Further, in the Red Army which forms the bed-rock of the strength and vitality of Russian Bolshevism and Communism, there are from 90,000 to 100,000 Communists, including the military youth organisation and staff colleges, and that of these only about 40 per cent are workers, and the other 60 per cent are peasants. Mr. Zunoviev himself writes of his party :—"Our party is a party of monopoly, and because it is the only one active in public affairs, certain elements force their way into it which under other circumstances would belong to other parties. What a variety we have ! The peasant element is a source of danger ; also the office workers who are not from the ranks of the working classes and have joined us merely from self-interest. There is no denying the difficulties in our path. It is quite true that a molecular process is taking place within the party which reflects more than one struggle which even reflects the class struggle." The economic and educational organisation of the country must be developed, and more work must be done among women to gain their adhesion and support, as also the extension of the party's influence among the youth and the increase of the workmen's numbers in the membership and muster-roll of the party. It is doubtless true that, as the Mensheviks assert "during the past years, with their lack of any sort of public life in the prevailing atmosphere of apathy and general confusion, all other parties and organisations were helpless, and the Bolsheviks together with the Red Army have been the only organised social power." There are too many heterogeneous elements making for disruption in the Communist and Bolshevist party. The present element, although "firmly entrenched in the district and regional administrative bodies," has no special kinship with the aims and policy of the ruling Bolshevik class. Every important workers' group has also its place within the party and is beginning to awaken to a sense of its own interests within the party state. Then there are the "intellectuals" with varying aims—some of democratic views and others aiming at making Russia a "Great Power State." There are also various bourgeoisie elements within the party. The elements of weakness and disunion—of decay and decomposition—are plentiful, and at any moment Bolshevism may be destroyed, or break up in consequence of its own internal weakness. Besides, there is a reluctance among the Governments and peoples of Western Europe to admit the Russian Bolshevist State, inspired and led by Lenin and his Communist partisans, to the community of civilised nations and their task of European reconstruction. Some of them regard Russia also as their own pre-destined ground and sphere of exploitation. The strengh of Bolshevism lies in its leaders,—in the perfect character of Lenin absolutely devoid of all sordid ambitions or personal aims and in the organising genius of Trotsky. Its support lies mainly in the bayonets and rifles of the Red Party of Bolsheviks.

When we take all these circumstances into account, it is too early to say that Russian Communism is a force which the world will have yet to reckon with as a formidable menace to civilisation or even to those fundamental and essential human instincts or institutions which it has hitherto been accustomed to regard as its inevitable and indispensable foundations and supports. Especially the Sanatana Dharma whose one and final aim is the liberation of all men and all living souls in the universe from the bondage of Samsara has not the least occasion and need to be frightened at its apparent advance in power, popularity, or permanence among the half-civilised communities and populations of Eastern Europe.

The Lausanne Conference.

The task before the Turkish Conference is not an easy one ; few were blind to the possibilities and perils of refusing admittance to the plenary sessions of all the powers interested in the Aegean and the Black sea and also like Persia in the Asiatic question. The vastness of the problems to be dealt with has only been equalled by their magnitude—the freedom of the Straits, the European and Asiatic frontiers of Turkey, the emigration of Greeks and Turks from territory now foreign to them, the means by which Bulgaria could be given open access to the sea, the position of the minorities in Turkish territory and the Capitulations. At the time of writing all the weather prophets are agreed that the wind is mild and the course well set. But angry jets of passion now and again flare up, principally in the discussions on the Straits, the capitulation and the Asiatic frontier. The trail of oil is over

it all: and unfortunately it seems bereft of its proverbial power to smooth ruffled surfaces.

On the issue of the Freedom of the Straits, it is a diplomatic victory for the moment for Lord Curzon; for he has got his proposals through for the opening of the Straits to warships in a modified form and had succeeded in splitting the Russians and the Turks on that issue. Still it seems to us that events are only waiting to nullify these settlements. The germ of an only durable and fruitful policy certainly lay in the Russian proposals which opened the way to the demilitarisation of the Straits. The *Manchester Guardian* thinks that the opening offered by Chitcherin might have been explored and to infinitely greater advantage than can possibly be derived from the diplomatic success of Lord Curzon. The net result was that the Turkish demand was acceded to that the control of the demilitarised zones should not be in the hands of the International Commission but shoul be given to Turkey. It was stated that the United States was opposed to any form of control. Turkey was given a limited right to defend her capital. For the moment it is confidently predicted that Turkey is satisfied with the settlement reached: for while it limited her control of the Black Sea and neighbouring waters, it also restricted the passage of warships into them. The reader will see at once how insecure these safeguards are in times of war when they really would be put to test.

The question of the Capitulations has been met by intransigence on both sides. The reasons are not far to seek. Even the French, suspected of strong Turkish sympathies, seem to have maintained that the Capitulations are necessary for their future in the Turkish State. Now, the Capitulations confer on the foreigner in Turkey two great and inestimable benefits. Firstly, it guarantees nationals of other powers special protection by their consular authorities, immunity from arrest even for criminal offences and the right of being tried by his own consular courts. How this works out in practice by giving him *carte blanche* to ride a coach and six through all the criminal laws of the country are illustrated by many incidents which we need not recapitulate here. Secondly, the foreigner who enjoys the priveleges under the capitulations gets free of all such taxation as he may not agree to. And as there is no known machinery of making him agree thereto, and as individual cupidity and greed, especially when loosened from the restraints of law or custom or public opinion in an alien country, can never effectively be checked, the incidence of taxation weighs and weighs heavily on the native of the country. Now it is evident that these are serious infringements of the right of sovereignty: and one cannot affect an unnatural horror if, whatever the cause in the past, the rising Turkey resents this perpetual badge of inferiority in her homeland. The argument is put forward in reply that the Turkish judiciary are corrupt and her code is a relic of barbarous traditions and customs. We remember seeing somewhere that the Turkish code has been modelled on the Code Napoleon. In any case it seems to us that that furnishes little ground for depriving Turkey of its rights in such flagrant manner. Moreover, the only course for the Powers enjoying the Capitulations, if they are honest by their attitude to Turkey, is to put, or help Turkey put, her laws and courts in order. This she has so often expressed her willingness to do and as often she has been denied the chance, we may not say of set purpose, of doing. In these enlightened times, we dare say Turkey will have all the sympathy she needs in this matter, as a matter of humanity if not as a question of her abstract rights as a sovereign power. The sensible attitude to take in these matters is to state at once that no foreigner is compelled to go and find a home in a land whose legal system does not guarantee him his natural and just rights. And in so far as Turkey needs the presence of the foreigner, as merchant, educator or skilled worker or administrator—and she will want them for long we are sure,—she will, of her own voliton, grant them special protection as the circumstances may demand. But to seek to force down the throats of re-awakened Turkey all the bitter pills the Sultans, greedy of money, were prepared to swallow does not present the Powers in an attractive light or engaged in an edifying occupation.

The position of Minorities in the new Turkish States is a question that will strain to the uttermost the resources of the negotiators at Lausanne. No one who forgets the structure of the Turkish Empire and imports into the discussions new-fangled and occidental notions on nationality and race can ever be able to solve the problem. Professor Toynbee, an excellent authority, has described for us accurately the bases of the former Turkish State. That State was an aggregation of various nationalities, each of whom subserved certain functions and had no desire to usurp other functions, but all of whom recognised willingly the political hegemony of one sovereign nationality. That is the key to the question of minorities. All other considerations are extraneous and are imposed to serve the cupidity of the exploiting foreigners who have found out that altruism pays. So, in Asia Minor, there are four different nationalities, Turkish—which is as a matter of fact not very dissimilar to the Kurds, Arabs and others whose religion is Islam—Greeks who are found all along the sea coast and the contiguous interior, with the meritorious renown of being unrivalled brigands, the Armenians in the interior along the eastern or Persian frontier, who are very largely intermixed with the village Turkish population, a centre of intrigue and suspicions and never so busy as when hatching plots against public tranquillity; the fourth nationaliy is the Jew, an indispensable artery in the political and commercial life of the regions. The test question on this problem has been Mosul and an acrimonious controversy has been the result. Eugland offered to retain the mandate, offering the Turks a share in the oil exploitation, if necessary. At the moment, Lord Curzon has declined further controversy. England, as the *Nation* remarks, "stands sentry by the oil tank." Of this we shall see as we go.

Retrenchment, like charity, ought to begin at home; and we are glad to note that the Hon'ble the Rajah of Mahmudabad has decided to work without any remuneration for a year. Among Ministers, however, we have before now, seen many such promises. The Central Provinces Ministers, we believe, led the way by patriotically agreeing to work for less than their stipulated salary. We now hear that the United Provinces Ministers have consented to a reduction of Rs. 1000-in their salaries. This is good so far as it goes. In Bengal, the Ministers, or at least one, had pompously announced about a portion of the pay going to public purposes —of this we have never had any further information vouchsafed to the public. But, seeing that the Report of the Bengal Retrenchment indicates that the financial impasse in that povince will have to be met by, among other devices, cutting down the emoluments or alternatively the number, of Ministers, the Ministers, if they are shrewed, stand to gain much by an earlier announcement of a voluntary reduction in their salaries. Of Madras, we shall not speak, for here passions and personalities are the ruling motives and reason is apt to be cold-shouldered.

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Dr. Sapru in his interview the other day, said nothing helpful to us in our present struggle. The only vital statement he made was that the centre of power had in these days shifted from England to India. As other sentences in the Doctor's statement make plain, this is nonsense. For, does he not complain that India is being kept in leading strings by Whitehall? Now, which is the correcter? Or perhaps, he meant that theoretically the centre of power having shifted from Whitehall to India, still the Government of India was being bear-led by Whitehall; and in order to support and sustain India, Dr. Sapru wants his countrymen to co-operate with the Government. It is just possible such was the idea at the back of the ex-Law member's brain. If so, are the facts *posited* sustainable? Has the Government of India in these days shed any of its more poisonous skin? That happy result is unknown to the people. On the other hand Die-hardism was never more in the ascendant at Simla and Delhi than now under the Reform Act and under the very nose of our Liberals who can, in debate, always be counted upon to help the Government out of a scrape. For great as is their love of country, of office and of the Reforms, greater still is their aversion to the N. C. O's. It is a pity that Dr. Sapru should have been so beclouded in his survey of the present situation.

* * *

France seems wilfully bent on taking a course which has put her wrong with the on-looking world, which has already shown signs of goading Germany on to resistance, though that is the very thing France wants for a pretext and, further, which would plunge her into darkness and chaos. The question was a very trivial one indeed: though the way in which Poncaire, with the narrow spirit of a lawyer, has proceeded, has raised issues which are not so trivial. Germany under the clauses of the Treaty dealing with restitution in kind, was called on to hand over to France a quantity of sawn timber and telegraph poles. It was stipulated that if the deliveries fell short the difference must be made up in cash. In point of fact, they have fallen short in the course of the year by about £100,000. Normally Germany ought to have been called upon to make good the deficiency by payment in cash. This very probably she is capable of doing—'perfectly' says an observer. But then the French experts held an important meeting on Christmas eve. As an apparent result hereof the French member of the Reperation Commission then proposed that Germany was technically in default. According to French interpretation of the clauses of the annexure to the Treaty, this would entitle France to take what measures she pleases against Germany. We can also see here how many contentious points this procedure involves. The British representative vainly pointed out that the penalty for Germany's default had already been fixed, namely payment by cash. If she defaulted here also, then a new situation will have arisen. The reader is now in a position to appreciate the French move, the recent Italian backing-out and the British inactivity. All these we hope to deal with mere exhaustively soon.

* * *

The crisis in Kenya is marching on with the swiftness of Fate. There is no reason to suppose that in their threats of organised violence, the handful of settlers are only indulging in methodical bluff; while there is no denying, with the Ulster anarchy of 1912 in our minds, that the British Government will capitulate to a show of force by their own countrymen. That the Whites never concealed their intention of resorting to violent and unconstitutional methods has long been apparent. This is a long premeditated coup; the Governments at Kenya, India and England must have known it; any untoward happening will no doubt be met by the Indians, as they seem to be prepared to do, with great calmness and fortitude and with no violence. But the governments concerned cannot escape the consequences of their foolish equanimity in their attitude towards an incipient rebellion, which had been hatching as long ago as 1920.

Not to go too far back in point of time, we shall refer to the meeting of the Convention of Associations, the great Settlers' organisation, which met somewhere about September 1920. Here is what the *New Statesman* said at the time:—No one who has not read a full report of that meeting can have an adequate idea of the racial arrogance and bitterness which animated it. The meeting was unanimously in favour of absolute refusal of the franchise to Indians, of prohibiting further immigration of Indians and further alienation of land to Indians. The only difference of opinion was as to the measures by which this policy should be forwarded. Although many speakers claimed that the demand of an Indian for a voice in Kenya was 'revolutionary' and directly inspired from Moscow, many of these defenders of law and order wished to pass a resolution pledging the meeting to 'combat by every possible method any deviation from their policy, and it was openly admitted that this was intended as a threat to Government of unconstitutional methods of resistanee by the White population if the Indians were given a vote. So heated did the atmosphere become during the speech of Commander Cook, the proposer of this resolution, that the Governor General, Northey, who was sitting upon the platform as an honoured guest, suddenly rose and said: 'I am afraid this discussion has taken a tone which necessitates my saying good morning. I did not come here to be informed that I was the head of a misguided government.' The Governor 'made his way out amid silence' and the Chairman said: 'Carry on Commander Cook.' The *New Statesman* adds: "The ideals, tone and temper of the settlers are obvious. It is no exaggeration to say that they are a menace not only to themselves but to the whole empire.........We repeat that the settlers and the Government in Kenya are creating a situation which is rapidly becoming dangerous.'

Legal.

The Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Bill.

Memorandum placed before the Select Committee under the direction of His Holiness Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetam, of Kumbakonam.

1. For the first time in the history of the Indian Legislatures, a Bill including within its scope the institutions known as Mutts has been brought before a Provincial Legislature. The proposal could not have been conceived of, if there had been a correct and proper appreciation of the origin, nature, and function of these historic institutions of immemorial antiquity.

2. The Hindu Religion is not a mere dogma or a set of beliefs, but constitutes an encyclopædic culture with an immense variety of creeds, philosophies, rituals and worships. The Mutts are institutions founded by holy personages, known as Acharyas, for the perpetuation of particular sects or creeds It is one of the essential and basic concepts of the Hindu Religion that, for those who believe in religious consolation here and salvation hereafter, the Guru is an indispensable aid. The Mutts are seats of spiritual authority with perpetual succession. The attitude of true disciples towards their Guru—the head of the Mutt to which they belong—is one of absolute confidence, devotion and humility. From this conception it follows that there can be no question of reciprocal obligations between the Guru and his disciples. The principles applying to secular concerns are not applicable to Mutts. The Matathipathi is not and cannot be regarded as a trustee, as that term is understood in English Law. The question of accountability does not, therefore, arise. By his position, the Guru is a law unto himself. In the case of Matathipathis, their exalted conscience, the injunctions of the Shastras, which are the commands of God, the natural and ever-operating incentive to remain, by precept and example, the centres of supreme spiritual and moral eminence that they are intended to be, and, finally, public opinion, have been deemed to be sufficient to maintain them in their true character. No legal safe-guards of a coercive nature can ever be made applicable to them. If a Matathipathi does not keep himself on right ways under purely moral influences, the fault must lie with the community of which he is the spiritual guide, and in such a case no legislation can really reform either.

3. The above conception of the Mutts may be inconsistent with legal or political notions. But these institutions can be understood properly only from the historic and religious standpoints. It is neither common-sense, nor political wisdom, to judge ancient and historic institutions by applying *apriori* standards or alien notions.

4. The various Mutts are of varied antiquity and standing; their objects are different; their customs and usages vastly differ from one another.

The Hindu community at large or any single section of it cannot be said to have a common interest in each and all of them. But each section, like the Saivites, the Vaishnavites, the Adwaitins, etc., has its interest confined to its particular Mutt.

5. The Mutts are not legally trusts, and the properties attached to them are not trust properties. The premises of the Mutt, its current and accumulated income and resources are absolutely at the disposal of the head of the Mutt, who is under no *legal* obligation to recognise any beneficiary apart from the advancement of the particular sect or creed which he represents—which advancement is secured by him in ways to be determined by himself alone without reference to outside suggestion or control. The properties of a Mutt are made up of the accumulations of innumerable gifts and grants made by its disciples in the course of centuries. When a disciple makes a gift or settles a grant, he attaches no obligation thereto. Such gifts are purely voluntary, and are offered in the belief that they secure religious merit for the donor. They may no doubt be backed by the belief that they will find a righteous use, but they are made so as to confer on the Guru *absolute* ownership in them. The Hindu Shastras enjoin that a Hindu should offer at the feet of his Guru what he can of his worldly possessions, and the gift thus made becomes property entirely at the disposal of the Guru. As such it is no *Endowment.* Moreover disciples offer for the personal use of their Guru such articles as Simhasanams, Palanquins, ornaments etc. Therefore, the properties of a Mutt can never be said to have been *dedicated* to, or *for the benefit of*, the Hindu Community at any time. In one of the copper plate Grants to the Jagadguru of Kamakoti Peeta by an ancient King, it is stated that the landed property gifted to the Guru thereby was at the absolute disposal of the Guru with the privilege to sell or dispose of it in any way the Acharya pleased. Another copper plate Grant by the Ministers Akkanna and Maddanna of Golkonda terms the Grant as absolute gifts to the Acharya as a learned man. Such properties are the personal properties of the Guru, and nobody can question the Gure in reference thereto. To place Matathipathis under the control of Committees would be highly repugnant to the religious sentiments of the Hindus. Such interference on the part of Government through their Committees with the affairs of the Mutt constitutes a breach of religious neutrality vouchsafed to the Gurus and their disciples by solemn Royal Proclamation and Statutes. The Matathipathis have hitherto been under no obligation to furnish accounts to anybody, nor are they accountable to any person or authority. The few rules that are nevertheless observed in the internal management of the Mutt are purely of their own making and for their own guidance, and the accounts they usually keep are for securing continuity of management and the preservation of property.

6. The Courts have not understood the position of the Mutts in a uniform manner, and there have been decisions of a somewhat conflicting nature. But the authoritative view in the recent Privy Council case (44 Madras Series 831), in which the Vyasarayar Mutt was concerned, will fully bear out that the position of the Matathipathis as above expounded is the true and correct one. Their Lordships have examined in detail the Law and the course of decisions relating generally to Mutts in this province, and have affirmed the position that the Matathipathi is *not* a trustee in respect of any part of the property attached to the Mutt, and that he is a beneficial owner having the full right to spend the income of the property according to his discretion.

7. In these circumstances, it is nothing but doing violence to existing facts and vested rights to attempt to bring Matathipathis under the definition of a 'heriditary trustee' and to call the Mutt a 'heriditary religious endowment' The Mutt is not 'a place of public religious worship,' or 'religious instruction' as the bill supposes [Section 4 (8)]. Nobody, not even its disciples, can claim to enter or worship in a Mutt, or claim religious instruction, *as of right.* In fact this conception of right is entirely alien to the true nature of the relation between a Guru and his Sishya. The disciple seeks to receive spiritual grace from the Guru whenever the latter is pleased to vouchsafe it to him.

8. The above observations have been set forth not simply with a view to prop up existing institutions or perpetuate vested rights, but as raising questions of fundamental justice and propriety.

9. Passing to the particular origin and history of the Kumbakonam Mutt, this Mutt was founded about 2500 years ago by the Great Sri Sankaracharya, for the propogation of the Advaita doctrine and culture. The great Acharya, as the expounder of the six main forms of Hindu religion within the fold of Supreme Vedic authority, was called the "Jagadguru" as exercising spiritual authority over the entire Indian continent. The present occupant of the Kamakoti Peetam has inherited that authority. The sanctity and privileges of the Mutt have survived through all these centuries. The Hindu Rajahs treated them with great reverence, and even accorded them divine honours. The Muhammadan Kings recognised and protected them, and the British Government have hitherto continued the same treatment in pursuance of the policy, laid down with sound and far-seeing wisdom, of strict religious neutrality. Several of the Chola Kings, the Emperors of Vizianagar, especially the illustrious Krishna Deva Raya, the Emperors of Delhi, the Nawabs of Golkonda and the Karnatic, the Nayak Kings of Madura, and lastly, the Mahratta Kings of Tanjore, have alike made liberal and absolute grants of property and enriched the Mutt. The Mutt which was originally established at Conjeevaram and which had its headquarters shifted to Kumbakonam some 192 years ago, commands due respect all over India, and exercises direct spiritual authority over a vast number of disciples in the Districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly, South Arcot, North Arcot, Vellore, Chingleput, Madras, Malabar, portions of Madura, Tinnevelly and Nellore Districts, the Pudukottah State, and the French possessions of Karaikkal and Pondicherry. The British Government grants the Mutt nearly Rs. 7000 per annum. It has further recognised the Mutt's right to collect 1/192nd part of the Land Revenue in porions of Ponneri, Tiruvallur and Saidapet Taluks of the Chingleput District.

10. The Indian Empire stands firm on the strong foundation of strict religious neutrality, the Proclamation of which alone by the Gracious Queen Victoria in 1858, after a great commotion which threatened the very existence of the British Empire in India, collected all the Indian people under the British banner. At a time when the

political sky in India is more clouded than ever, when conflicts are raging and the issuse are still undecided, it is surprising that the Provincial Government of Madras should think so light-heartedly of reversing the sound Imperial Policy of strict religious neutrality. The grounds put forward to justify the departure are fallacious and untenable. In a country like India with diverse religions and creeds, under no circumstances can the Executive or the Legislatures, composed of members of all religions and creeds, claim to interfere in or control the purely religious concerns of any particular community. The change in the character of the Executive Government might justify a departure of policy in regard to the *secular* matters common to all communities, but not in regard to *religious* matters. There being no guarantee that the Ministers will *all* be Hindus at all times, and as even a Hindu Minister might be a heterodox gentleman or might belong to one creed and be tempted to oppress or penalise other creeds and sects, and the Ministers themselves, being subject to a mixed Legislature of Hindus and Non-Hindus, the fact that Religious Endowments form a transferred subject cannot justify the departure from religious neutrality.

11. The fact that Hindu Religious Endowments alone are proposed to be brought under a revolutionary measure of legislation requires some convincing explanation. In the absence of such explanation there cannot but arise in the minds of the Hindu community at large serious heart-burning and misunderstanding which it would be the part of political wisdom to avoid.

12. Strong exception has to be taken to the broad and sweeping statement contained in the Bill. 'Mutts have been deliberately included. They are endowed with large properties and complaints of mismanagement have in their case been very pronounced.' Upon what material or what evidence such a statement has been made is not made clear. Particular instances cannot justify such a general statement. So far as the Kumbakonam Mutt is concerned, it has had a clean record, unbroken for centuries. The said Mutt has not been involved up to the present moment, in any suit or proceeding calling in question the management of the affairs of the Mutt by the head of the Mutt. It has not been alleged that any responsible person or body of persons among the vast circle of the Mutt's disciples have ever made any complaints of mismanagement to anybody. In these circumstances, there is no shadow of justification for proposing to bring the Kumbakonam Mutt within the scope of the Bill.

13. In the light of what has been set forth above, the provisions in the Bill,

(1) empowering Committees to compel production of documents, returns, reports etc., Section 19 (2);

(2) empowering Committees to appoint temporary Trustees in cases of disputed succession to hereditary endowments, Section 20 (1);

(3) for the furnishing of regular accounts to the Committees, Section 26;

(4) for the audit of accounts, and the meeting of audit charges, Section 27;

(5) for inspection by the President of the Committee, Section 28;

(6) for fixing the Budget with the *approval of the Committee*, Section 29 (1);

(7) for contributions to meet the expenses of the Committee, Section 30 (1);

(8) for contributions to Local Bodies under vague, wide, and iniquitous terms, Section 32:

(9) for the diversion, setting at naught all principles of Law and Equity, of Mutt funds to objects of "general public utility," Section 33; and

(10) empowering Committees to interfere in the internal management of Mutts, Section 34 (g);

are all revolutionary innovations quite incompatible with the position and character of the Matathipathis. It has already been stated that, unlike temples, each Mutt stands for a particular sect or creed. The Committees will be composed of persons of diverse and, perhaps, antagonistic sects, and the extensive power of control proposed to be vested in Committees cannot but lead to endless difficulties and disastrous consequences. His Holiness protests strongly against these new provisions, which disregard and set at naught the valued rights and privileges enjoyed by his Mutt from time immemorial.

14. The proposal to do away with the sanction of the Advocate-General, and to substitute therefor that of the Collector, as proposed in Section 37 (2), is a dangerous innovation altering what was a real safeguard against vexatious proceedings into an illusory safeguard. His Holiness records His protest against this proposal, as also His more emphatic protest against the proposal to dispense with sanction altogether where the suit is for the removal of a hereditary Trustee and is instituted by a Committee.

15. In conclusion, it is hoped that, under all the circumstances of the case, the select committee will see the justice and wisdom of recommending the abandonment of the Bill, or at least the postponement, for a reasonable time, of the consideration of such a drastic and revolutionary measure, affecting the deeply cherished religious sentiments of millions of Hindu people.

16. These objections have been taken from the particular standpoint of the Mutts. In the short time allowed for representations to be made, more could not be done. But His Holiness endorses the universal protest that has gone forth from all responsible Hindu citizens and bodies against the various objectionable parts and aspects of the Bill.

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   Zamindar of Andipatti.
2. M. R. Seturatnam Aiyar,
   Member, Legislative Council,
   and Mirasdar Manathattai, Kulitalai.
3. S. Sivaramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., B.L.,
   Vakil, Trichinopoly.
4. N. D. Subbarama Aiyar,
   Mirasdar of Nangavaram, Trichinopoly.
5. T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar, B.A.,
   Mirasdar, and Managing Director, Srirangam.

Bankers.

The Imperial Bank of India
and The Indian Bank Ltd. Madras and Branches.

Auditor.

T. C. Ranganatha Rao F. R. S. (London)
F. C. I. (Birmingham) A. F. I. A. (Victoria)
Holder of permanent unrestricted Auditor Certificate.

Registered Office.

552 South Chitra Street, Srirangam.

☞ Please fill up the application form overleaf and send it to the Managing Director at the Registered Office or to the Banks along with the application Deposit.

APPLICATION FOR SHARES.

The form must be produced entire with the Application Deposit.

To

THE DIRECTORS OF THE SRI VANI VILAS SYNDICATE Ltd.,

SOUTH CHITRA STREET, SRIRANGAM.

GENTLEMEN,

Having paid to { THE MANAGING DIRECTOR. / THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA, / THE INDIAN BANK LTD.,

the sum of Rs.......................being a deposit of Rs. 10 / 2 per share in respect of..............shares of Rs. 50 each / Rs. 10 each I request you to allot to me that number of shares and I hereby agree to accept the same or any smaller number that may be allotted to me, to pay Rs. 10 / Rs. 2 on allotment, and the balance of Rs. 30 / 6 as and when called, and I hereby authorise you to place my name on the register of members in respect of the shares allotted to me and I agree to accept such shares, subject to the provisions of the Memorandum and Articles of Association.

Signature..

Name in full..

Description..

Address..

Date..

Received on ________ by ________ the Office or the Bank by whom Received. *(to be filled in by the Receiver.)*

APPLICATION DEPOSIT RECEIPT.

THE SRI VANI VILAS SYNDICATE LIMITED.

Place ________________

No ________ Date ________________

Received of Mr. ________________________________

of ________________ the sum of Rs. ________________________ being a deposit upon ________ shares of Rs. 50 each / Rs. 10 each in the above named Company applied for on the ________ day of ________________ 192

____

Rs.

____

Signature of the Receiver.

N. B —This receipt must be preserved carefully to be exchanged hereafter for share certificate.

Payment by cheque to be subject to its realisation.